GARAGEA'S BARES

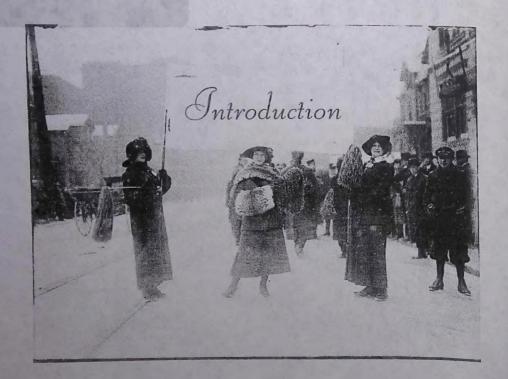


NO. 18

February Aught-Six

DISPATCHES FROM THE WEST!

COYOTE WRANGLING ON DANGEROUS PRECIPICES! RANCHERS OF WORDS. IF YOU HAVE SPOTTED RENEGADE POETS OR UNIONS, PLS TELEGRAM SHERIFF IMMEDIATELY, BENEATH THE BRITTLEBUSH, MARXIST COWGIRLS, GENTLEMEN BEWARE.



When I was in eighth grade, the Owen J. Roberts School District teachers went on strike for a week. In the week before the school shut down, the local news network came to campus and filmed a couple students saying things like, "We're the ones who have to suffer for this." There were rumors throughout the middle school that students were going to stage a walkout in protest of the strike. The most vocal kids were pissed about staying in school further into the summer (our last day of school usually came in late June because of several snow days). I, being the dramatic fourteen-year-old I was, felt drawn to the excitement and danger involved in walking out of class with everyone else. Mike Smith was angry. Amanda Edwards was angry. Dammit, I was supposed to be angry too. Why did the teachers want more money anyway?

There was never a walkout, obviously. The energy dissipated after about two days of griping around the lunch table. My English teacher was right when she told the class we were clueless, that we knew nothing about the strike or what the teachers were going through.

A teachers' strike does place the students in the middle of a fight they have no control over. Our first response, though, was to blame the teachers. For being greedy, or disagreeable, or for inconveniencing us with their petty demands. Why does that happen? Why didn't we get angry at the administrators who were refusing the teachers' demands for a new contract? Okay, we were fourteen; no one expects adolescents to be beacons of class consciousness. But we learned that attitude somewhere, didn't we?

When the New York City Transit workers went on strike this winter, the media coverage largely focused on the scores of New Yorkers who would have to walk to work. Mayor Michael Bloomberg called the strikers "thuggish." The MTA's proposal that workers contribute 6% to their pension would have saved the city about \$20 million over three years, a sum less than what the NYPD spent covering the first two days of the strike. Throughout the media, there was a

tacit condemnation of the thuggish strikers who were crippling New York City but no such portrayal of the MTA for its own policies toward the transit workers.

This is the economy that organizes our lives.

This is how we are to respond when others fight it.

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Galatea's Pants #18 started out as a thematic piece on labor. It grew, branched out into issues of class, corporate power, race, and the far-reaching tentacles of U.S. businesses. There were events that needed to be written about, such as the passage of CAFTA, Hurricane Katrina and the Sago Mine collapse. This issue tells the story of our economy from a perspective you won't see in Forbes or even Newsweek.

Consequently, this issue is also about the work of activists and fighters. Despite all the tragic consequences of capitalism brought to light on these pages, I want to convey a sense of hope, however small. Wherever oppression takes hold, it is always met with resistance. The people who picket for months to demand a living wage, who organize community unions against Wal-Mart, who march for hundreds of miles across the country for the land the government promised them, who set up independent newspapers, take control of their towns, win back their public resources from privatization, and bring giant companies to their knees—those people are the heroes of this zine. Their fearlessness proves that there is an alternative; they fight for that possibility every day. This is ultimately their story.

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This zine also features a MIX CD!!!!! Here is the track list

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- 9. Steve Earle Rich Man's War (lyrics on page 37)
- 10. Patty Larkin Metal Drum
- 11. Sweet Honey in the Rock We shall not be moved
- 12. Dar Williams Empire (lyrics on page 49)

UNIONS: WHAT ARE THEY GOOD FOR?

I am disappointed whenever I meet someone who is, by principle, anti-union. While I am not going to deny the existence of corrupt or inept unions, I think it's important for Americans to understand how unions have historically fought to secure rights for all workers. Here are some things to think about:

- √ Do you like weekends?
- ✓ Do you like knowing employers have to pay you at least minimum wage?
- √ Do you like the eight-hour workday?
- ✓ Do you like safety regulations in the workplace?
- ✓ Do you like overtime pay, worker's comp, healthcare benefits, pension plans?
- √ How about laws against child labor?

It was the unions who have struggled to bring about these changes and empower America's labor class. The formation of labor unions has always been a result of poor people, immigrants, Blacks, Latinos, Asian-Americans, women and other minorities banding together to demand their rights as the builders and producers of this economy. According to a Comell University study, more than 41 million workers say they want a union. But here are some unfortunate facts:

• 25% of employers illegally fire at least one activist during a union campaign

• 75% hire professional anti-union consultants

 92% force workers to attend mandatory closed door meetings against forming a union

 51% threaten to close their facilities or slash jobs if workers vote for a union

This is a shame, because unions benefit everyone involved. Workers are safer, healthier and paid better wages. According to Jobs with Justice ("Organized workers make a difference beyond the workplace. States where many workers are union members have lower poverty rates, better schools, more people with health insurance, and less crime than states where few people are union members. Workers whose democratic rights are respected in the workplace are also more politically engaged and motivated to vote.

Higher civic participation then leads to better public policies that serve the needs of the entire community."

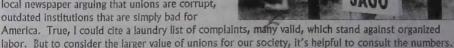
What if the Sago Mine had been unionized?

by Megan Dively Lehman

Sixteen West Virginians died in coal mining accidents this January. There was a time when this statistic would not have made the news. Mining deaths were once everyday occurrences, an accepted part of a dangerous but lucrative business. Thankfully, these sixteen lives and their weeping families huddled at midnight church vigils brought national attention to the industry.

Among the details reported: Workers' urgent safety complaints were ignored in the weeks before the Sago disaster. The Sago mine's accident rate was three times the national average. It was given more than 200 safety violations in 2005 (unfortunately, mine safety violation citations don't have any teeth under the present administration.) Most noticeable for me was the pesky detail that the Sago mine was not unionized-

People have recently written letters to my local newspaper arguing that unions are corrupt, outdated institutions that are simply bad for



According to a fact sheet published by the U.S. Mine Safety and Health Administration (www.msha.gov), the deadliest year in U.S. coal mining history was 1907, when 3,242 deaths occurred. The yearly average in coal mining decreased to 45 fatalities during the 1990's. MSHA cites the creation of various federal and state regulations and bureaus, the introduction of safer methods and equipment, and accident prevention programs as factors in this dramatic change.

Curiously, there is no mention in this government fact sheet whatsoever of unions, except in the assertion that "a more cooperative attitude toward safety issues by the mining industry, labor and government" had contributed to the decline in deaths. What MSHA doesn't tell you is who pushed for the creation of those bureaus, safety regulations, emergency equipment and other protections that have made this dangerous business so much safer. Should we believe that mining company executives, out of the goodness of their hearts, spontaneously submitted to all the new state and federal oversights created over the years? Or could the annual death rate dropping by 98.6% from the turn of the century to the 1990s have something to do with the organization of labor in the intervening years?

Let's take a look at wage statistics to see how companies treat their workers with and without unions present. According to 2005 data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics website (www.bls.gov), workers represented by unions have median weekly earnings of \$795. Those workers' non-union counterparts made \$622 per week. Over a year's time, that's a difference of almost \$9,000. Over a thirty-year career, the typical union worker will make almost \$270,000 more than his or her nonunion counterpart.

In the mining industry, the union employee makes \$980 a week, compared to the non-union employee's \$870. According to another BLS chart using 2005 data, only 9.5% of workers employed In the mining industry are represented by unions, lower than the average of 15% for all industries.

If unions have proven successful in procuring higher wages for their workers, can we assume that they are the driving force behind most mine safety laws, too? If I were a coal miner, I'd sure like to work in one of those precious few union mines. But even if I didn't, I'd benefit from the protections and reforms that unions have championed over the years.

Unions can be paternalistic and corrupt organizations, and members must be vigilant in policing their own. But unions can also improve quality of life for workers and their families. The Sago deaths remind us that the value of an institution usually goes unnoticed until that institution is no longer there.

Their baloney has a first name.

It's C-A-F-T-A....



Shortly after midnight on July 28th, the House of Representatives approved the Central American Free Trade Agreement, or CAFTA.

At the end of the allotted 15 minutes of voting time the count was 180 to 175 against CAFTA. The Republican leadership kept the vote open over an hour, in order to press legislators into approving the bill. Apparently opponents of CAFTA also did some persuading, because the final tally was 217 to 215; CAFTA made it through the House by the skin of its big ole privatizin' teeth.

Now, you may be wondering, "What's the matter with CAFTA? Isn't free trade a good thing? Don't we want every country to be able to trade their goods and services, you know, freely? Isn't that good for democracy?"



Oh, if only it were so. The rosy utopia of a bustling and diverse market square is what free-trade proponents want us to picture when we think of CAFTA. They tell us that deals like CAFTA are good for our economy, generate growth in foreign countries, and spur development in poor nations, leading to better national security. Free trade is presented as the golden key to solving problems of poverty and terrorism. Republicans who

backed the bill, like Representative Tom Delay, said that it was important for "fledgling democracies" in Latin America.

Unfortunately, this is just not true. CAFTA is practically identical to its predecessor, NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement). Don't know what's wrong with NAFTA? Let me tell you.

- 1. With free trade agreements, large companies are given the gift of deregulation, which gives them more freedom in operating their business.. That's the "free" part of free trade. Unfortunately, it's pretty expensive for the rest of us. When NAFTA was passed, it resulted in the loss of one million U.S. jobs as more and more companies moved down to Mexico, where the weather is sunnier and the working wages are refreshingly low. In addition, 38,000 family farms were lost.
- 2. Meanwhile, in Mexico, the *ejidos* or farming cooperatives, took a heavy hit. The farming cooperatives produced enough to feed their communities with locally grown food and other staples. But they just couldn't compete with giant subsidized multinationals that were moving in because of increasing deregulation. As a result, 1.5 million Mexicans lost their jobs and had to move to the *maquiladoras*, or factories. These factories are notorious for their bad labor conditions. Most of them are dark, crowded, and dirty, guarded by aggressive security agents. In many places workers are not allowed bathroom breaks. They are harassed if they try to organize. They are paid barely enough to feed their families. The jobs are degrading and dangerous. Often, when the workers attempt to organize, the factories close. Many are closing now and moving to China, land of the even lower wages, casting even more Mexicans into unemployment.

3. This has severely damaged the traditional way of life in Mexico. Where ordinary Mexicans were once able to live self-sufficiently, now an increasing number are forced to rely on *maquiladora* jobs. This does not sound like economic independence for "fledgling democracies" to me.

Border Action Network writes that since NAFTA was introduced, "the real value of the average manufacturing wage has dropped by 21%, while the average wage drop for all workers was 34%. At the same time, the cost of the official "market basket" of food,



housing, and essential services has risen by 247%. Many products, including milk, chicken, bread, and even beans, are more expensive on the Mexican side of the border than on the U.S. side. Millions of Mexican farmers and their families have also been forced off their land because of the opening up of Mexican markets to cheap, subsidized US corn imports. Estimates to the number of people that will ultimately be displaced from these imports run as high as 15 million people, or 1 in 6 Mexicans. Almost ironically,

in this same time period the price of corn tortillas (which represents half of the calorie intake for many poor families), has risen by 50 %." And somehow, the general American public hears only how essential free trade is to democracy.

4. So if you were living in a destitute border town, making pennies a day in a sweatshop job, what would you do? Jump the border, perhaps? Try to start over in the U.S.A., Land of Golden Opportunity? The number of Mexicans crossing the border has increased dramatically in the last decade. So too, have immigrant deaths. If you look at the numbers from just a decade ago, a dozen or two immigrants died each year crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. Now, in the past 11 months, 400 migrants have died in Arizona alone. This rise in immigration has led to the increased militarization of the border as well.

Those are just some of the specific examples of how NAFTA has harmed the United States and Mexico. CAFTA is just the same kind of agreement, only it extends to Central America and the Caribbean. Free Trade is seductive. We Americans like freedom. We like the market. We like buying and selling. It would seem that Free Trade would be the perfect deal for us. But these deals are Faustian bargains whose devastating consequences we don't see until it's too late.

In a nutshell, neoliberal policies are designed to fatten the wallets of corporations and large businesses, while increasingly crippling the public power in developing nations. You've probably heard about how free trade breaks down barriers, which may sound good until you read the fine print and see what those barriers actually are. Under NAFTA and CAFTA, anything that businesses deem a barrier can be struck down for the sake of profits. This includes labor rights laws, human rights laws, and environmental regulations. These rules that are supposed to make a society more humane, civilized and sustainable can all be ignored if corporations believe that they will hurt their business.

Dear Graciela, I'm writin' this letter
Deep in the night and I'm all alone
It's nearly breakin' my heart to tell you
I'm so far away from home
I know I said I'd never cross the border
I know I promised to return to you
But I lost my job in the maquiladora
What's a simple man to do?

I met a man in Tijuana
Said he had a job for me to do
Standin' on a corner in San Diego
With a pocketful of red balloons
All I wanted was a little money
All I needed was a week or two
I never even saw the police comin'
What's a simple man to do?

Tell my mamma that I said I'm sorry I know she didn't bring me up this way. Ask if she could light a candle for me Pray that I'll come home someday. Oh Graciela, won't you please forgive me I never meant to bring this shame to you I lost my job in the maquiladora. What's a simple man to do?

-- Steve Earle

The public interest can also be considered a barrier. The end goal of Free Trade is to grant more power to corporations, so government-run programs are in danger too. Public resources like water, electricity and low-income housing are open for privatization, and no longer guaranteed to those in need. Healthcare also becomes less affordable. 275,000 Central Americans will be cut off from AIDS medications because of the zealous patent laws that the pharmaceutical companies embedded in the CAFTA treaty.

The U.S. Trade Representative's report on CAFTA says that the agreement

includes protections for the environment and labor laws. But deregulation is so en vogue that corporations can sue governments for regulations, including environmental laws, if they feel it impedes upon their rights of Corporate Personhood. Regarding labor laws, the agreement only promises to make countries enforce their own labor laws, which are substantially weaker and don't necessarily follow any international human rights standards. The agreement promises to reduce sexual harassment in the maquiladoras. A lot of good that will do: telling sweatshop

Do you think the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) will be help or hurt the country?

	Mar. 2005	Dec. 2004
Help	17%	46%
Hurt	65%	35%

Source: OID-Gallup Methodology: interviews to 1,212 Guatemalan adults, conducted from Mar. 14 to Mar. 23, 2005. Margin of error is 2.8 per cent.

bosses to be more respectful of the laborers the system already expects them to exploit.

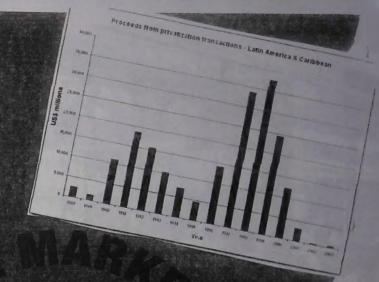
It is possible that many free trade legislators are just misguided, and truly have developing nations' best interest at heart. It's hard to believe that, considering the devastation visited on poor nations who sign free trade agreements, but there are probably individual people at free trade meetings who really want to do good in developing countries. The problem is, the benefits of free trade go straight to multinational corporations or the wealthy elite of the Third World. And even though big businesses in the United States hit the jackpot with NAFTA and CAFTA, ordinary Americans pay the price with diminished job security. Free trade agreements are business deals, written by businesspeople. Hence, any good intentions are overshadowed by the profit motive.

Free market neoliberalism does not foster independence for Third World countries. If anything, it keeps them more dependent on the United States, greasing the gears of empire. Developing nations are kept from regulating their own economy, writing laws that protect communities, consumers, the environment and workers, and providing access to public services for their citizens.

On July 28th, 215 U.S. Representatives knew this, (as well as 45 Senators a month earlier) after seeing the damage wreaked by NAFTA in our own country and abroad. Unfortunately, it was one representative too few. But the fact that so many Congress members fought against CAFTA is heartening. In addition, thousands of Central Americans have already started marching opposition to the agreement. A massive, creative, direct-action campaign could set us on the path to finally burying the free trade model.

Resources:

www.ustr.gov/Trade Agreements/Bilateral/CAFTA/Briefing Book/Section Index.html (The US Trade Rep on CAFTA. It talks about "communist insurgencies." Teehee!)
www.maketradefair.org
www.stopcafta.org
www.citizen.org/trade/cafta
www.cispes.org
www.citizenstrade.org
www.borderaction.org

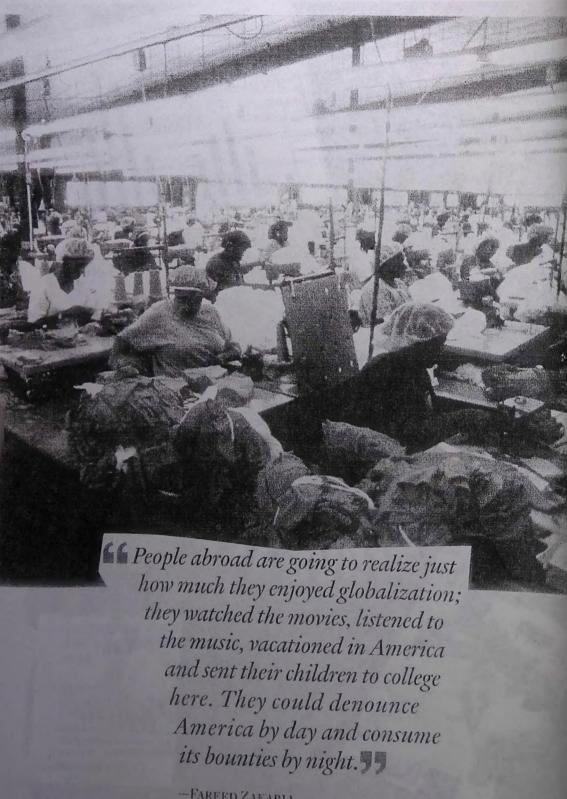


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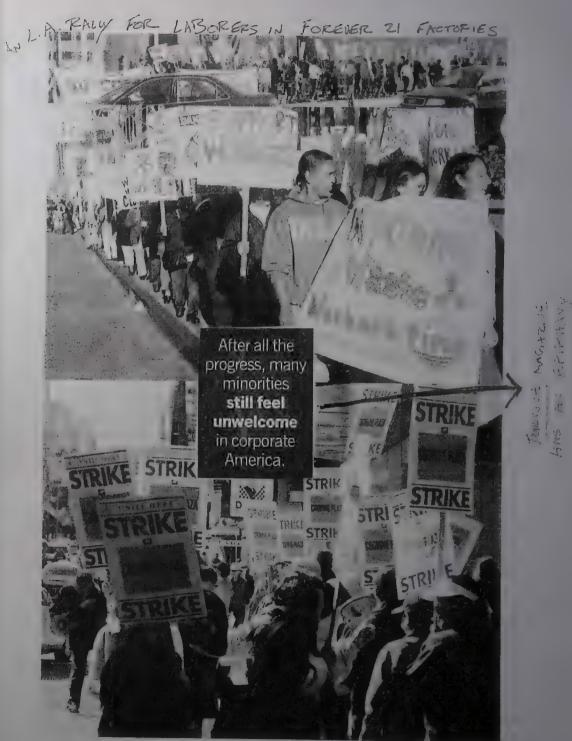


In 2004 Africa lost an estimate: \$304 million as a result of US cotton subsidies

--www.Maketradefair.org



-FAREED ZAKARIA



SAN FRANCISCO HOTEL WORKERS ON STRIKE



I was taught to see racism only in individual acts of meanness, not in invisible systems conferring dominance on my group

Through work to bring materials from women's studies into the rest of the curriculum, I have often noticed men's unwillingness to grant that they are overprivileged, even though they may grant that women are disadvantaged. They may say they will work to improve women's status, in the society, the university, or the curriculum, but they can't or won't support the idea of lessening men's. Denials that amount to taboos surround the subject of advantages that men gain from women's disadvantages. These denials protect male privilege from being fully acknowledged, lessened, or ended.

Thinking through unacknowledged male privilege as a phenomenon, I realized that, since hierarchies in our society are interlocking, there was most likely a phenomenon of white privilege that was similarly denied and protected. As a white person, I realized I had been taught about racism as something that puts others at a disadvantage, but had been taught not to see one of its corollary aspects, white privilege, which puts me at an advantage.

I think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege. So I have begun in an untutored way to ask what it is like to have white privilege. I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools, and blank checks.

Describing white privilege makes one newly accountable. As we in Women's Studies work to reveal male privilege and ask men to give up some of their power, so one who writes about having white privilege must ask, "Having described it, what will I do to lessen or end it?"

After I realized the extent to which men work from a base of unacknowledged privilege, I understood that much of their oppressiveness was unconscious. Then I remembered the frequent charges from women of color that white women whom they encounter are oppressive. I began to understand why we are justly seen as oppressive, even when we

don't see ourselves that way. I began to count the ways in which I enjoy uncorned skin privilege and have been conditioned into oblivion about its existence.

My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an untairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will. My schooling followed the pattern my colleague Elizabeth Minnich has pointed out: whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow "them" to be more like "us".

I decided to try to work on myself at least by identifying some of the daily effects of white privilege in my life. I have chosen those conditions which I think in my case attach somewhat more to skin color privilege than to class, religion, ethnic status, or geographical location, though of course all these other factors are intricately intertwined. As far as I can see, my African American coworkers, friends and acquaintances with whom I come into daily or frequent contact in this particular time, place, and line of work cannot count on most of these conditions.

I usually think of privilege as being a tavored state, whether earned or conferred by birth or luck. Yet some of the conditions I have described here work to systematically overempower certain groups. Such privilege simply confers dominance because of one's race or sex.

- 1. I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
- 2. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.
- 3. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.
- 4. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
- 5. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
- 6. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
- 7. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
- 8. If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege.
- 9. I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the staple foods which fit with my cultural traditions, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can cut my hair
- 10. Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
- 11. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them.

- 12. I can swear, or dress in second hand clothes, or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty, or the illiteracy of my race.
- 13. I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial.
- 14. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.
- 15. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.
- 16. I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.
- 17. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.
- 18. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to "the person in charge," I will be facing a person of my race.
- 19. If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.
- 20. I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race.
- 21. I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, out numbered, unheard, held at a distance, or feared.
- 22. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having coworkers on the job suspect that I got it because of race.
- 23. I can choose public accommodation without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.
- 24. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
- 25. If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.
- 26. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in flesh color and have them more or less match my skin.

I repeatedly forgot each of the realizations on this list until I wrote it down. For me white privilege has turned out to be an elusive and fugitive subject. The pressure to avoid it is great, for in facing it I must give up the myth of meritocracy. If these things are true, this is not such a free country; one's life is not what one makes it; many doors open for certain people through no virtues of their own.

In unpacking this invisible knapsack of white privilege, I have listed conditions of daily experience which I once took for granted. Nor did I think of any of these prerequisites as bad for the holder. I now think that we need a more finely differentiated taxonomy of privilege, for some of these varieties are only what one would want for everyone in a just society, and others give license to be ignorant.

I see a pattern running through the matrix of white privilege, a pattern of assumptions which were passed on to me as a white person. There was one main piece of cultural turf; it was my own turf, and I was among those who could control the turf. My skin

color was an asset for any move I was educated to want to make I could think of myself as belonging in major ways, and of making social systems work for me. I could freely disparage, fear, neglect, or be oblivious to anything outside of the dominant cultural forms. Being of the main culture, I could also criticize it fairly freely.

In proportion as my racial group was being made confident, comfortable, and oblivious other groups were likely being made unconfident, uncomfortable, and alienated. Whiteness protected me from many kinds of hostility, distress, and violence, which I was being subtly trained to visit in turn upon people of color. For this reason, the word "privilege" now seems to me misleading. We want, then, to distinguish between earned strength and unearned power conferred systematically. Power from unearned privilege can look like strength when it is in fact permission to escape or to dominate. But not all of the privileges on my list are inevitably damaging. Some, like the expectation that neighbors will be decent to you, or that your race will not count against you in court, should be the norm in a just society. Others, like the privilege to ignore less powerful people, distort the humanity of the holders as well as the ignored groups.

We might at least start by distinguishing between positive advantages which we can work to spread, and negative types of advantages which unless rejected will always reintorce our present hierarchies. For example, the feeling that one belongs within the human circle, as Native Americans say, should not be seen as privilege for a few. Ideally it is an unearned entitlement. At present, since only a few have it, it is an unearned advantage for them. This paper results from a process of coming to see that some of the power which I originally saw as attendant on being a human being in the U.S. consisted in unearned advantage and conferred dominance.

I have met very few men who are truly distressed about systemic, unearned male advantage and conferred dominance. And so one question for me and others like me is whether we will be like them, or whether we will get truly distressed, even outraged, about unearned race advantage and conferred dominance and if so, what we will do to lessen them. In any case, we need to do more work in identifying how they actually affect our daily lives. Many, perhaps most, of our white students in the U.S. think that racism doesn't affect them because they are not people of color; they do not see "whiteness" as a racial identity. In addition, since race and sex are not the only advantaging systems at work, we need similarly to examine the daily experience of having age advantage, or ethnic advantage, or physical ability, or advantage related to nationality, religion, or sexual orientation.

Difficulties and dangers surrounding the task of finding parallels are many. Since racism, sexism, and heterosexism are not the same, the advantaging associated with them should not be seen as the same. In addition, it is hard to disentangle aspects of unearned advantage which rest more on social class, economic class, race, religion, sex and ethnic identity than on other factors. Still, all of the oppressions are interlocking, as the Combahee River Collective Statement of 1977 continues to remind us eloquently. One factor seems clear about all of the interlocking oppressions. They take both active forms which we can see and embedded forms which as a member of the dominant group one is taught not to see. In my class and place, I did not see myself as a racist

because I was taught to recognize racism only in individual acts of meanness by members of my group, never in invisible systems conferring unsought racial dominance on my group from birth.

Disapproving of the systems won't be enough to change them. I was taught to think that racism could end if white individuals changed their attitudes. But a white skin in the United States opens many doors for whites whether or not we approve of the way dominance has been conferred on us. Individual acts can palliate, but cannot end, these problems.

To redesign social systems we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding privilege are the key political tool here. They keep the thinking about equality or equity incomplete, protecting unearned advantage and conferred dominance by making these taboo subjects. Most talk by whites about equal opportunity seems to be about equal opportunity to try to get into a position of dominance while denying that systems of dominance exist.

It seems to me that obliviousness about white advantage, like obliviousness about male advantage, is kept strongly inculturated in the United States so as to maintain the myth of meritocracy, the myth that democratic choice is equally available to all. Keeping most people unaware that freedom of confident action is there for just a small number of people props up those in power, and serves to keep power in the hands of the same groups that have most of it already.

Though systemic change takes many decades, there are pressing questions for me and I imagine for some others like me if we raise our daily consciousness on the perquisites of being light skinned. What will we do with such knowledge? As we know from watching men, it is an open question whether we will choose to use unearned advantage to weaken hidden systems of advantage, and whether we will use any of our arbitrarily awarded power to try to reconstruct power systems on a broader base.

This article was very formative for me when I read it in college. I've been meaning to include it in Galatea's Pants for a long time. I know it seems like it doesn't exactly fit the theme of "work and labor," but I believe it is an important issue to bring up. Issues of race, in this country, are inextricably linked to issues of class. Peggy McIntosh's exercise should serve as an example to all of us in positions of privilege, whether that be class, race, gender, ability, age, or sexuality privilege. Almost everyone has an invisible knapsack of some sort. It is an enlightening experience to unpack it.

snattering the spectacle:

Race, Class and Katrina

by Jesse Saba Kirchner

Unmourned as 2005 rushed by was an anniversary that most people have long forgotten. Forty years ago, in the summer of 1965, black folks living in the Los Angeles neighborhood of Watts rose up and took control of their town. Against the threat of looting and self-government by the poor, California declared a state of emergency. They sent in police, helicopters, the National Guard and, eventually, an entire infantry unit with tank support. More than thirty people were dead, and millions of dollars in property destroyed or stolen, by the time law and order were restored.

It isn't just an old saying that people who don't know the past are condemned to repeat it. Until the ordinary people of the world -- the trod-on objects of history, people who experience history as an inscrutable and violent juggernaut -- .intil they grasp the lessons of history and take control over it, its violent course will be played out at their expense again and again. Forty years after the Watts uprising, the United States was rocked again by the exposure in New Orleans of the same old problems--racism, poverty, disenfranchisement in every sense of the word--that helped start the flames in Watts that summer long ago.

The assassination of New Orleans in Hurricane Katrina's wake was just a warning shot. The system that caused it will continue to make greater tragedies and huger catastrophes until we recognize it and replace it.

I. Watts and the "Spectacle-Commodity Economy"

We can start to understand what happened in New Orleans by reading an insightful analysis of the Watts rebellion, written in December 1965. The artist-revolutionaries of the Situationist International (SI) wrote an essay that still stands out against the pale prose of mainstream politicians and journalists of the time. The language of the SI is still vivid after forty years, because they took a courageous position that no one else would. They came out wholeheartedly on the side of the rioters of Watts:

"Who has defended the Los Angeles rioters in the terms they deserve? We will. Let the economists fret over the \$27 million lost, and the city planners sigh over one of their most beautiful supermarkets gone up in smoke ... The role of a revolutionary publication is not only to justify the Los Angeles insurgents, but to help elucidate their perspectives, to explain theoretically the truth for which such practical action expresses the search."

For the Situationists. American life was dominated by the commodity and the "spectacle." In modern life, commodities have transcended their basic purpose as objects made by human labor and used for a function in our lives. More and more, commodities begin to shape our lives to fit around them, instead of the other way around. Social pressure and a \$190 billion/year ad /ertising industry relentlessly create new desires and new needs that we can only satisfy through consuming new commodities. Instead of using the awesome productivity of American industry and manufacturing to shorten our worktime and create more leisure time, we all must work longer and harder to consume the next new commodities. The natural roles of human beings and the things they create have been completely reversed: instead of creating commodities to improve our lives, we sacrifice our lives to fuel the consumption of commodities.

The other half of the system is the "spectacle." This is the product of mass entertainment, news media, politics, and other institutions which unite for one purpose: to disguise the fundamental wrongness in a society which values commodities over human beings. All of these institutions collaborate to sap our energy, creativity, and the capacity to act and think freely: they replace a human subject with a passive object. This is really a distinctive part of the modern world. When we compare our lives to those of people only a few generations ago, it's obvious that we are less active and participate less in all of those institutions than they did. Fundamentally, we are more bored.

It's amazing that people can still be bored when so much money and energy are spent creating TV shows, movies, sports events, video games and music that we can consume. Actually it isn't natural at all that we should be bored in such a situation. But these forces are objectively colluding to create only products that will further separate us from participation in all the important aspects of our lives, and justifying this separation. As long as commodities rule people, life will be boring, and society will waste a great deal of its energy trying to convince us that there is no alternative.

What the spectacle must disguise is a system in which a small minority becomes rich from the labor of the great majority. It presents a united front encompassing all people: they are incorporated not equally, but locked into hierarchies of value. Black and white are separated from each other, like women and men, natives and immigrants, queers and straights. The oppositions between these artificial categories prevent people from perceiving the real contradiction at the heart of the spectacle: commodities and consumption are valued above human lives.

A system like this must create tensions and frictions. The spectacle likes to solve these contradictions by incorporating them into itself. But the contradictions grow harder and harder to manage within the system. The first people to realize its hollowness are the ones whose oppressed condition is a required part of the spectacle. As the SI wrote:

'[American] blacks are promised that, with patience, they will join in America's prosperity, but ... the higher they climb, the farther they get from the top, because they start off disadvantaged, because they are less qualified and thus more numerous among the unemployed, and finally because ... they are also treated as inherently inferior in every area of daily life."

The disaster in New Orleans revealed how little things have changed in forty years. The Civil Rights movement and affirmative action have let some black people succeed, but they have not

fur.damentally changed the wretched conditions in which the masses of black people in America still live. As the Situationists said: 'Individual wealth will only make a rich black, because blacks as a whole must represent poverty in a society of hierarchized wealth."

The "spectacle-commodity economy" can only entrap people as long as it presents a believable unity which convinces people that there exists no alternative. It must always claim that the world is safe and calm, or that increasing the coercive power of the system can restore safety. Those of us who lived through the 1990s and the September 11 attacks can remember both sides of this coin. We saw them again in miniature during the Hurricane Katrina crisis. When the news that Dick Cheney was fishing in Wyoming and Condi Rice was shoe shopping did not persuade the American people that everything was under control in New Orleans, then soldiers and mercenaries were sent in and martial law was declared.

In the interim, before normalcy was restored, we saw one of those rare moments when events run out of control for the spectacle-commodity system. In these moments, we suddenly perceive how vulnerable the system is: and suddenly it is possible to call the whole status quo into question. In those moments, suddenly, everything is up for grabs. September 11 was one of those moments: mass panics like the D.C. sniper in 2002 and the anthrax mail-scare in 2001 created a similar situation; Hurricane Katrina was just the latest.

In the end, these situations usually end up re-incorporated into the system of the spectacle. For a very brief moment. September 11 provoked real questions and thinking from the masses of Americans. But it was quickly refashioned into a bloody club to justify expansionist wars. Hurricane Katrina too will be re-incorporated, and worked into a smooth and seamless transition of history and cultural images which all work together to justify the way things are. Nevertheless, we can pearn a lot from moments like these: each one presents a greater challenge to the existing system; and each person who consciously studies them helps to bring about that day when the engaged population will take one of these rupturous moments and seize it to tear apart the world of the spectacle. That is the key achievement when our future will begin, and the world of September 11ths and Hurricane Katrinas will become forever part of the past.

II. Hurricane Katrina and New Orleans

Hurricane Katrina, a Category Four hurricane, made landfall and struck New Orleans on August 29, 2005. Despite numerous studies warning that a large hurricane would breach the levees and destroy the city, governments from the local to the federal level failed to respond in any coherent way. While the mayor of New Orleans ordered the city evacuated without providing any transportation for those too poor to evacuate on their own, President Bush continued his vacation in Arizona and California. On the day that Katrina made landfall, the incompetent director of FEMA, Michael Brown, spent the day writing emails about his wardrobe ("If you'll look at my lovely FEMA attire, you'll really vomit. I am a fashion god"). In full view of the nation and the world, a major American city was left to drown.

Statistics give a first take on the damage caused by the hurricane: over 1,000 people dead; 20 feet of water in some neighborhoods; 250,000 destroyed homes, 881,400 residents without power, and more than a million people left homeless. Worse, though, were the psychic scars the experience left on the whole country. Video cameras and TV crews, normally loyal foot soldiers in



the army of the spectacle, became its fierce critics as fearless journalists exposed the incredible vulnerability that most people want to believe impossible in their own homeland. Shocked Americans watched people stranded without food or water for days and weeks, sometimes in clear view of the impotent helicopters. The Superdome stadium, supposed to be a safe haven for desperate people, turned into a hell on earth for tens of thousands.

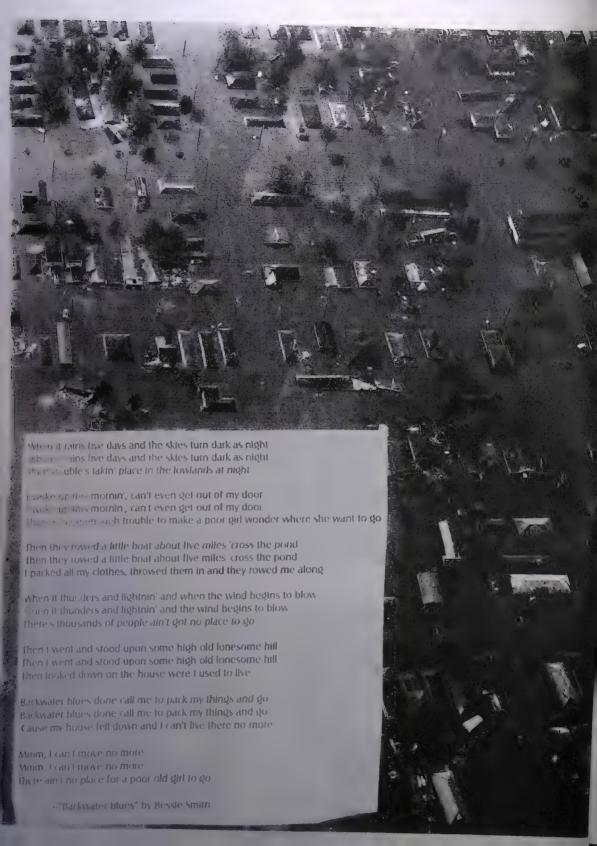
No one had the power to stop the hurricane from coming ashore. No matter how perfect the government's response, some damage would have occurred, and some people would have died But the incompetence and arrogance of this particular government left hundreds of thousands of fellow human beings to suffer a slow torment ending in homelessness and exile (for the lucky ones) or death. In the wake of the hurricane came the real disaster: martial law as the answer to the pleas of a whole people abandoned.

It is important now to think of Watts, and to remember the peculiar racialized dimension of the disaster. Overwhelmingly it was black folks who were forced to their roofs, to the Superdome, because they were too poor to flee the city when the hurricane hit. It was black faces on the "looters" shown on TV, when the Governor of Louisiana issued a "shoot to kill" order. Those who couldn't blame the government ended up blaming the victims of the disaster, falling back on the racist stereotypes that have always, always underpinned American culture. Unsubstantiated tales of vigilante looter gangs, and rapes and murders at the Superdome served to dehumanize the people of New Orleans by appealing to racist ideas and supporting a militaristic response to a humanitarian disaster.

In the aftermath of it all, some people claimed that the government itself was racist. They said that if the hurricane had struck a city where most people were white, then the government would have leaped into action and provided the aid that people needed to evacuate in time. This argument entirely misses the point.

There was no chance that the government could have responded to Katrina in a timely manner. The time to provide for the needs of blacks in New Orleans was not the week of the hurricane. It was last year, and the year before that; it was fifty years ago and a hundred years ago, during Reconstruction and during the American Revolution and before they were dragged from Africa in chains. Racism is in the marrow of America and it can't be wished away by a few color-blind helicopter evacuations. It is one of the keystones without which American culture would collapse.

It is no accident that the twin stains of racism and poverty are as deeply entrenched in American life now as they were in 1965. In the final analysis, the Civil Rights movement of that decade has failed. Ending Jim Crow and lynchings has not ended poverty and racism. The solution to the problem of racism, revealed in all its ugliness in New Orleans, depends on a new Civil Rights movement much more thoroughgoing than the last one. Any serious attempt to build a movement based on the human dignity of all people, against racism and poverty, will inevitably have to transcend and eliminate the system of the spectacle-commodity, which is daily recreating the conditions of those very oppressions.



III. Surpassing the Spectacle-Commodity Economy

The issue of looting played a key role in the post-Katrina discussions of what happened in New Orleans. The government used it as a justification for declaring martial law. An odd echo of Watts: in 1965, that rebellion was crushed by soldiers trained for Vietnam. In 2005, Louisiana Governor Blanco declared: "Three hundred of the Arkansas National Guard have landed in the city of New Orleans. These troops are fresh back from Iraq, well trained, experienced, battle-tested and under my orders to restore order in the streets. They have M-16s and they are locked and loaded. These troops know how to shoot and kill and they are more than willing to do so if necessary and I expect they will." (At least we know where that \$1 billion/day that we pay the Pentagon is going.)

for the Situationists, the heavy looting which characterized the Watts riot marked it as the first huge rupture in the system of the spectacle. Unlike their contemporaries in the mainstream press who described the rioters of Watts as savages and barbarians, the situationists believed that the blacks in rebellion were the more conscious and more advanced than any other Americans. White Americans were buying into the logic of the spectacle, while blacks were superceding it:

"People who destroy commodities show their human superiority over commodities. They stop submitting to the arbitrary forms that distortedly reflect their real needs. ... The theft of large refrigerators by people with ... their electricity cut off is the best image of the lie of affluence transformed into a truth *in play*. Once it is no longer bought, the commodity lies open to criticism and alteration, whatever particular form it may take. Only when it is paid for with money is it respected as an admirable fetish, as a symbol of status within the world of survival."

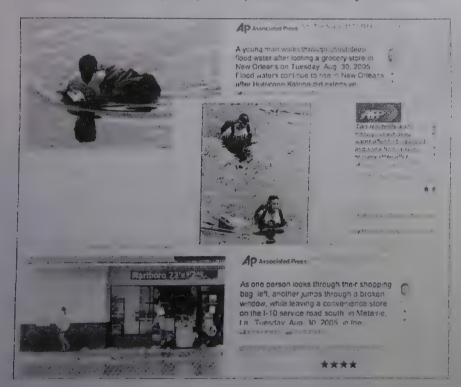
In Watts and New Orleans, orders to "shoot to kill" the looters unmask a system that puts property rights above the welfare human beings. It is the truth of this system, and the way that in the last resort it always makes resort to merciless violence, that are most likely to defeat it. Just like the naked emperor, it takes nothing more to bring down the spectacle than telling the truth about it. No one would be willing to live in a society where the rule of commodities over people is enforced through violence and terror; and no force on earth will compel a whole mass of people to live in a system they are unwilling to endure. What is still lacking is a sufficient number of such events to force enough people to face this uncomfortable truth.

The SI said: "Looting is a natural response to the unnatural and inhuman society of commodity abundance. It instantly undermines the commodity as such, and it also exposes what the commodity ultimately implies: the army, the police and the other specialized detachments of the state's monopoly of armed violence." This is what we must understand in order to understand the events of yesterday and tomorrow. Looting is a natural response to the world we live in: the status quo and the cop who enforces it are the unnatural aspect of our social life. We must move beyond them both.

Some people, meanwhile, fight with all their might to avoid grasping the obvious truths in front of them. While government mercenaries gunned down poor black men and women in the flooded streets of New Orleans, liberals were reduced to handwringing over media representations of looters. Much was made of some published photos where blacks were called "looters" in the captions and whites were called "finders", as if this was where the real race question lay in New



(caption:) Texas game wardens watch over people who were caught using a mail truck to try to escape New Orleans. They were freed but forced to continue on foot. Reuters



Orleans. The people who worried about this distinction did not question the order of things in which looting is a crime that should be punished. This proved that they were not (yet) committed to an unrelenting struggle against racism.

We can say it more clearly: people of color will never be free as long as humanity is divided into the category of looters and law-abiding citizens. Until the masses of people in this country unite fully with the looters, we will be stuck participating in the system of spectacular hierarchies which is rooted in the exchange of commodities. Those who loot beyond what they need" -- those who take refrigerators when they have no electricity -- are moving to surpass the hierarchal system that oppresses them. White folks who want to challenge racism need to join the poor and downtrodden where they already are, instead of sitting in comfort to pass rhetorical judgment on "looters."

IV. The Future Of History

The future of New Orleans is uncertain. The most likely outcome is that much of what was great about the city is lost forever. Without a doubt, a great deal of irreplaceable local history was lost. More importantly, the living history embodied in the New Orleanians, many with long roots in the city, is being lost as many of the million plus homeless residents of the city are deciding to settle down in Texas or California or wherever they were finally sent. Predictably, rich developers have found profitable uses for the wrecked neighborhoods; much of the city will probably face gentrification and a loss of the unique qualities that used to be there.

What is certain is that this will not be the last tragedy of this magnitude. The incompetence and venality exposed by this hurricane is not going to be solved in a wink by putting in a few new FEMA administrators. With cameras rolling, the richest country on earth let its citizens drown and their bodies rot in the sun in the wake of a completely predictable natural disaster. This sends the clearest possible message to all Americans: you have been warned. The government has officially abdicated its responsibility to protect your life and livelihood. It isn't a question whether there will be another disaster like this one; it isn't even really a question of when. It will be soon, and it will be often.

What's also certain is that in enough time, the American masses will become fully conscious of how they are abused by spectacle and commodity, and they will want to join the advanced elements who are looting and struggling for a better world today. The only question left is whether they will do so before the reckless administrators of American society have destroyed the last opportunities for the human race to found a peaceful and harmonious social life on earth.

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"I hate the way they portray us in the media.) Survey is black family, it says, "They're looting." You see a white family, it says, "They're looking for foud." -Kanye West

66We lost everything, but the worst part

was the looters.
They came and stole from

BILLY GOLLOTY, Bilari, Miss.

Louisiana Gov. Kathleen Blanco declared war on looters as 300 National Guard troops landed in New Orleans fresh from duty in Traq. "These troops know how to shoot and kill, and they are more than willing to do so, and I expect they will," she said.

The City Tourists Never Knew

Last semester, in my Poetry in Forms class, we were assigned a cultanelle. In this form, the first and third lines of the poem are repeated throughout the poem at the end of each stanza. "Do not go worth into that good night" by Dylan Thomas is the famous execute.

While watching the news, I saw that the House had passed a bill granting more power to the oil companies in the wake of Harricane Kattina. The bill lowers engineered strainers and we as it harder for communities to address grievances against corporate power. It barely based. The House was in an uproar; Democrats shouted, "Shame! Shame," Republicans shouted back at the Congressionman Nancy Pelosi stood up to speak out against the passage of this bill. The Speaker of the House kept asking her, above all the shouts, "Does the gentlelady have a parliamentary inquiry? Does the gentlelady have a parliamentary inquiry?" He just kept repeating it. And I thought, "Well there's the line for my villanelle."

I titled this "Cassandra in the House" after the Trojan princess who forctold the Greek invasion. Everyone told her she was crazy; she did have quite a rabid, frenzied way of prophesying. It could be a silly title, I'm not sure. And yet, I feel a kinship with this misunderstood prophet in some ways. Maybe shouting at everyone during dinner was not the best factic for her, but sometimes patience is no longer an option. Rep. Pelosi certainly felt that way.

Cassandra in the House

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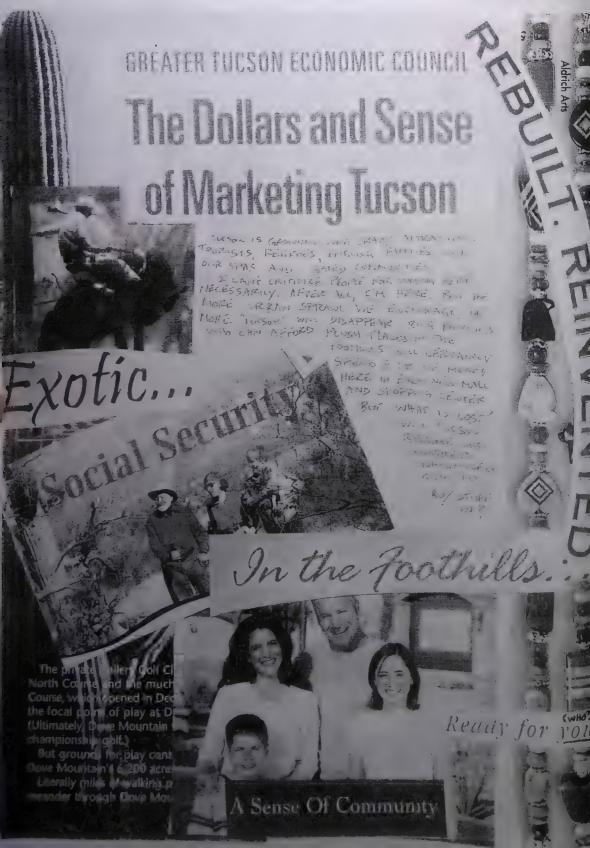
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Shacks and careasses drowned. A flooded company Shame, shame, shame!

It does not please to speak of this courteously

Mocks, Barrels, Sign, This is a place of relinery Erase our names.

I have no speech stained with courtesy.





Enter this dramatic 4 bedroom, 4 full bath, Contemporary home into an expansive great room featuring soaring 16' ceilings and a wallof-windows looking out to the spectacular entertainment patiol Enjoy your own private canyon, complete with natural 81 manmade, rock waterfall that pours into the Pebble Jec pool/spa...all on 3.46 private 80 protected desert acres. \$1,395,000

-Siguety Caryon Russ

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International Human Rights Complaint Filed Against U.S., Claims U.S. Fails to **Prosecute Border Vigilantes**

> Enhancements include a gourmet kitchen Over the last five years, however, anti mi migrant activities have become alarmingly frequent and the government has ceased to prosecute per mons! parameter of a better the same same a second continue ber of out-of-state groups, including the Minute 95,000 man Project, Ranch Reseute, the American Border Patrol and Civilian Flomeland Defense, have moved to Arizona to help mobilize and fuel a growing la anti-immigrant movement. With these new transplants has come an increase in hateful, criminal activity toward immigrants in southern Arizona. Racist and white supremacist initia groups have caused grievous harm to hundreds - perhaps thousands -- of immigrants, through injury by firearms, physical assault and battery, robbery, false imprisonment and degrading verbal threats and insults

Minutemen to patrol on weekend Simaric Aurana members of the Minnernan Chai Defense This STU CORP comp transfer that the Minuteness of the Minuteness ints SPC Corp warp reactional patient to which in meaning lots [24] grants in the large spent, and easily the operation to [24] grants in the large spent and the larg Some sorres commence test don the operation open space your oil Art ones you and conjunct designs to have eivilian bord a oult to consult thought Arron is beque Three pants, itself is other with of the horder has kitchen with 1 coans a polytical production of the law year of section with the name a polytical production of the law year of the law year. many to be unknown the male than wel-The property of the Angel and Minnenan volume as sentented but of the Antonia the self-inning and to the Rocks of the Received Comnered nesonal element and served to is not amin mountain vies THEFT spaces including Phoenix South 190 Minuted in members, conducted a steday MOUNTAIN V gands in the parso, the cantic

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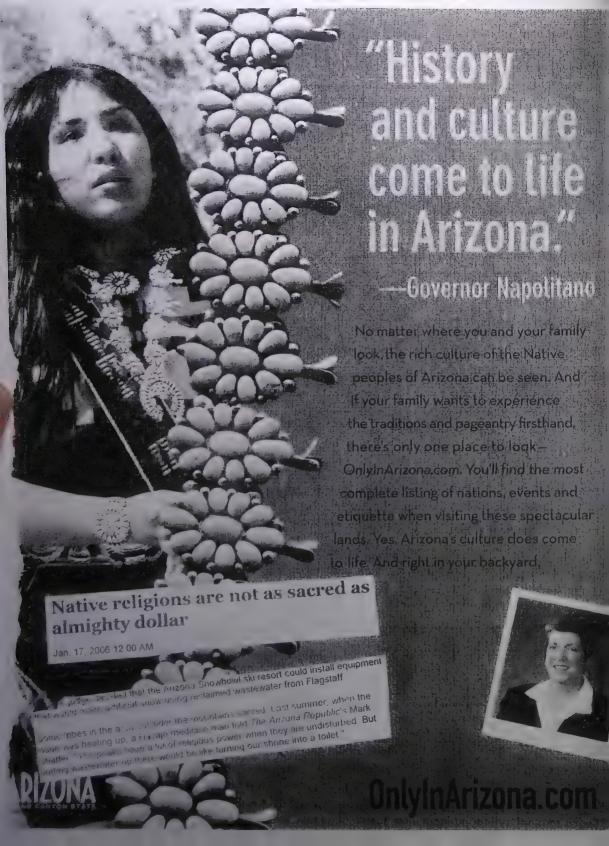
spa! Complete horse facility! \$1,450,000

par a private showing call Russell Long.

some of summerim memory conducted a some upthan 1248 sphares he said Mondemen also had four But hey we can just build a great wall around the country club 1-88 To keep the riff raff out until the slump is through.

Yeah, I realize that ain't exactly democratic but it's either them or its WWW. And it's the best we can do

-Steve Earle



There is a world to write about in this advertisement. At a first glance, it might seem like a good thing: promoting the cultures and histories of Arizona's Native tribes. But compared to the living situation of most Native peoples in Arizona (and the rest of the country), it feels very hypocritical. As far as housing, education, employment and healthcare go, Native Americans get the short end of the stick in this country. On top of that, many tribes, like the Diné (Navajo), Hopi, Yavapai, Apache and Zuni, are finding it increasingly difficult to practice their religions. In Arizona specifically, sites such as the San Francisco Peaks and Mount Graham have been taken away from the tribes that hold them sacred, in order to build ski resorts or observatories. (See

government and commerce leaders would boast about the rich culture of the Native Americans here, while simultaneously marginalizing that culture to make room for non-native enterprises.

This ad came from Tucson Lifestyle, which is filled with ads for restaurants, country clubs, golf courses, shopping malls, hotels and spas. The magazine's audience is middle-class white tourists. The local history, natural landscape and personality of Tucson become commodified, one more thing to buy and sell. This is what tourism is all about. The emphasis is on consumption rather than interaction or education. This includes the Native cultures. Tourism aims to convince people that they can "experience Native culture" without ever stepping outside their own perspective and really learning about the people they're "experiencing." This ad tells us that Arizona offers a diverse array of traditions for those who want to come take pictures.

Religions, traditions, languages, all the things that make up culture, are very important to the people who claim them as their own. The Arizona government is happy to advertise that culture if it will attract white tourists looking for exotic jewelry, but if honoring the state's thirteen tribes requires restraining the growth impulse and sacrificing business ventures, well . . . that's a different story.

There certainly have been some positive advances for Native Americans living in Arizona. However, it isn't fair to speak out of both sides of the mouth. White folks in power claim they acknowledge the importance of Native culture, but they're the ones calling all the shots – making most of the decisions that affect the Native peoples in the region. So the words ring hollow Meanwhile, the same profit impetus that inspires ads like this is inspiring more cultural chauvinism, pushing aside real tribal interests in favor of fiscal interests.

On the surface, this ad seems to pay tribute to the diverse Native cultures here. But honoring Native Americans means something very different than reducing their lives to a souvenir.

YOU CAN PLAY THROUGHAT,

BUT YOU NEVER CET OVER ITE



Growing problem

STONE CANDON This remarkably lush desert Golf Club Community just north of Tueson in Arizona's speciacular Oro Valley is nothing less than untorgettable. Private, pristing and exceptionally legitiful, stone Campon has been rated 17th of Golf Week's Best 100 Colf Course Communities. And when you live here, you'll understand why. Custom

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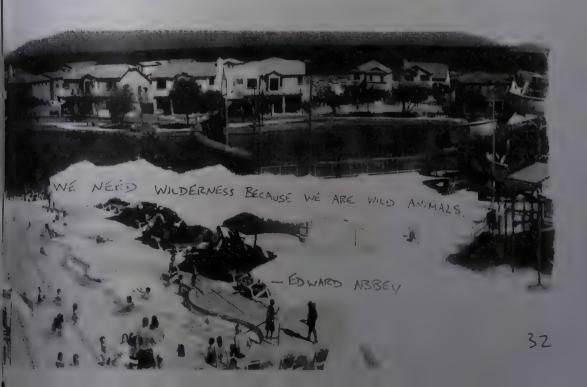
Santa Cruz river, dry after a storm

Here, water makes no promises
The current races through the dry creekbed
a lover leaving gnarled branches uprooted and gasping
from the shock of so much rushing. Gone
after the clouds bruised with rain. This morning
the concrete winked puddles. Creeks stretched for sun-blanched shoals
Here is the evidence.
Water, though, has other places to go, does not hold

But you know the story, the addiction to eternity.

We seduce water to be kept. We make it call us home, settle down into pools, knit wide scarve of grass. When its eyes go cirrus, like it is dreaming of Mexico, we beg for days. We need the way it fills us. The end of the story?

Everyone collapses from the exhaustion of making their beloved stay.



\$100 to UCLA students Who expose liberal profs

LOS ANCELES A former congressman is among three people who have quit the awaisory board of a conservation of California Los denie orange of California Los denie orange to police professor saccused of pushing liber.

Former Rep. James Rogar, (Repulsican who served two terms, 'ecti' an e-mail Wodnesday to Andrew Jones, head of the Beam Alumn Association, saying he didn't want his name connected to the group.

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I remember my favorite college professors. I remember looking forward to their classes each day – the moments of humor and enlightenment, the insights they drew out of us. They taught English courses, history courses, creative writing, women's studies, sociology. Whatever we were studying, the course always opened up into something larger. I saw the subject material from new perspectives, and began to connect everything I saw or heard to what I was learning. This, I thought, is what education should always be like. Challenging and exciting.

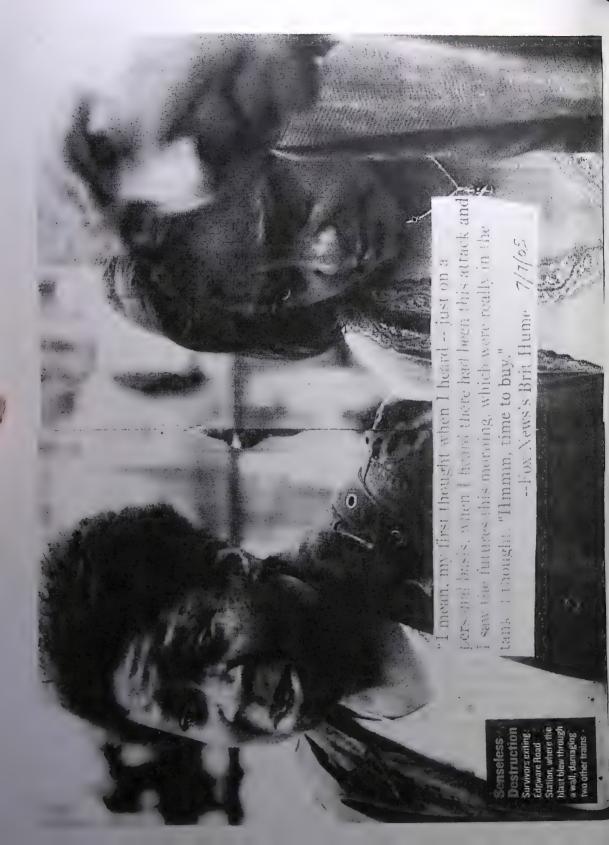
There's been all sorts of chatter lately about academic bias. Certain legislators, college groups, talk radio hosts and think tanks are strongly convinced that universities are a hotbed of liberals. Tune in to some of this chatter, and you'll hear the words "Marxist infiltration," "ultraleftist," "liberal slant," "anti-American," "anti-family" and "race-baiting" thrown around quite a bit. Although a lot of these terms come from the more rabid faction (like Young Americans for Freedom), all of the people involved seem to have gotten it into their heads that academia is overrun with "liberals." Most famous is the Academic Bill of Rights, created by David Horowitz. Horowitz argues that there are too many liberals teaching on college campuses. He has several alumni organizations and College Republican chapters to back him up. But I'm still trying to figure out what all these people mean by "liberal."

Horowitz supporters say that students should be exposed to a wide range of ideas in class. Fine. But they also say that if you're in an English course, you shouldn't be learning about politics. If you're in a film studies course, you shouldn't be learning about race and class. Well, where does that leave us? If we can't talk about all of the many complex factors that make up human society, what is left to learn? Whether people want to believe it or not, issues of race, class, gender, etc. affect every field of study in academia. Challenging certain assumptions and discussing them is necessary for a truly rigorous education. My greatest college courses opened my eyes to so much more than the textbook's subject matter. But it is exactly this kind of thinking, this questioning of the status quo, that is labeled "liberal." And it's what the supporters of "Academic Freedom" want to fight.

Now some students at UCLA are being offered monetary rewards to police "liberal thinking" in their professors. I find this very scary. How is a student to decide what counts as liberal thinking? Let's say a student comes from a small town where she has only interacted with people just like her. Her whole sense of the world is informed by her own experiences and the views of people around her. Maybe everybody in her town is white, Christian and straight. In her first college course, she is exposed to ideas that make her question her own beliefs about religion, or race, or sexuality, or war. When it's suggested to you that what you've believed all your life might not be rock solid, it feels like someone's just destroyed the foundation under your house. Many students find this uncomfortable at best and a cause of terrible anxiety at worst. But if they're told it's all part of a liberal conspiracy on campus, they are given a sense of security. They are allowed respite from the constant questions spinning in their heads. They don't have to challenge their own minds because that would supposedly inhibit their academic freedom.

As I've said before, I don't believe in the polar model of politics. I don't believe that there's the Left and the Right, or that everybody exists somewhere along this arbitrary continuum. I think that when people like Horowitz advocate a wide spectrum of ideas in the classroom, they are really proposing a narrow spectrum of acceptable things to talk about. Besides being vaguely McCarthyist, this saps the thrill right out of education. Education is supposed to allow us to question what is accepted, not promote it blindly. I think of the inspiring professors who helped me take responsibility for my own education. I know that because of their willingness to tackle all the assumptions rooted in our society, they would be accused of leftist bias by Mr. Horowitz. This is unfortunate, because it was these professors who, more than anything else, taught me to think for myself.

(Dedicated to Drs. Terri Smith, Betsy Crane, Lynn Botelho, Tony Farrington, Chauna Craig, and Wendy Carse)



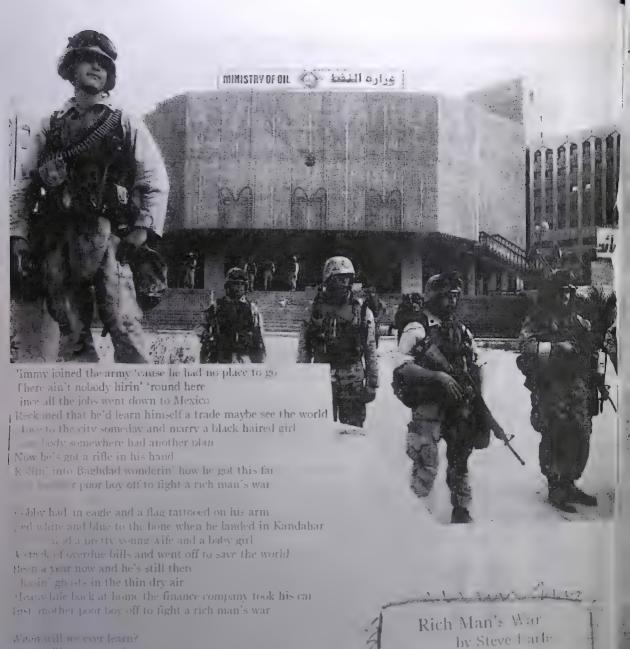
Ten Reasons to L<mark>ove Amy Goodman</mark>



AMY GOODMAN

- 1. She hosts Democracy Now! a great independent news show that reports on all the stories that the mainstream media ignores.
- 2. She wrote a book called *The Exception to the Rulers: Exposing Oily Politicians, War Profiteers, and the Media that Love them.* It is a well-researched, well-written indictment of the corporate politics that control the media and government.
- 3. She's one of the best independent investigative journalists ever.
- 4. She hardly ever takes a break. Democracy Now! airs every weekday without fail. Amy Goodman is dedicated to the work she is doing. She never stops researching or reporting.
- 5. Her mission is to "go where the silence is."
- 6. Because when a group as repressive as the Indonesian military calls you "a threat to national security," you know you're doing something right.
- 7. Democracy Now! features better debates with a wider range of perspectives than any show I've seen on the other networks. The people working at the show strive to include the voices of people from all backgrounds.
- 8. She isn't partisan; she takes Republicans, Democrats, anyone in a position of power, and holds their feet to the fire. Go to Democracynow.org and read her interview with Bill Clinton. She did not spare him.
- 9. The way she can't hide her excitement when interviewing someone amazing on the show, like Studs Terkel or Howard Zinn.
- 10. When people call her an "advocate journalist," she smartly responds, "Yes, and my role models are the main news networks."





Air was the second son of a second son tyrew up in Gaza, throwing bottles and rocks when the tanks would come Ain't nothin' else to do around here. Just a game children play Somethin' 'bout fixin' in fear all your life makes you hard that way

He auswored when he got the call wrapped famself in death and he praised Allah 3 fat man in a new Moreedes drove him to the door

"Free elections, free press, and an independent judiciary mean little when the free market has reduced them to commoditive on ale to the highest hidder



Sophacles, Antigane

A very quick list of corporate shame:

Formula companies know breast: Last summer, the Department of Health and Human Services unrealed an ad campaign to promote breastfeeding. Studies have shown that babies who are not breastfed have higher risks of obesity, ear infections, diarrhea, and diabetes. But baby formula consources used their money power to lobby the DHHS and eventually succeeded in having the ads changed to eliminate the stronger risk language.

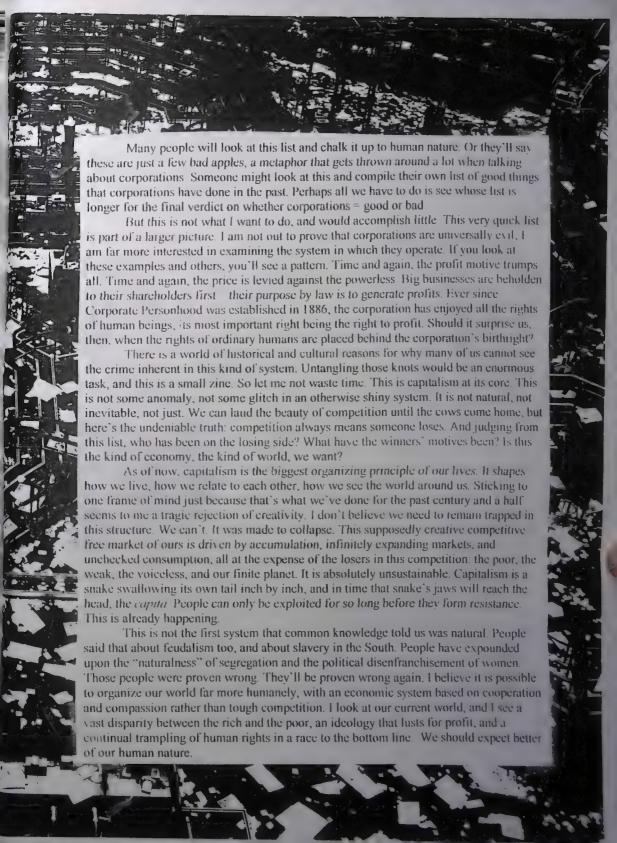
Coca-Killer: Coca-Cola is one of the worst multinational companies when it comes to human rights abuses. From 1989 to 2002, eight union leaders from bottling plants in Colombia were mardered in retaliation for protesting unfair labor practices. Hundreds of other workers who have joined the union SINALTRAINAL have been threatened, kidnapped, tortured, or detained by paramilitaries hired to intimidate workers. (The workers have called for an international boycott of all Coke/Nestle products.)

Monster-santo. Monsanto, the largest producer of genetically engineered seeds, accounts for 7.0% to 100% of the market for soy, cotton, wheat and corn. Their herbicide, Roundup, which is sold to small farmers, accumulates toxins in the soil and renders plants infertile. The farmers then a cito buy the genetically engineered Roundup Ready Seed, creating a dangerous cycle of expendency. Exposure to the chemical is documented to cause cancers, skin disorders, and premature births.

No, it's not PMS. I'm just pissed at you, Lilly: The pharmaceutical giant, Hi Filly, was facing the expiration of its patent on Prozac. The solution? Find a brand new disorder! Self the miracle drug! Who cares about solid research or health concerns when you've got a quarterly bottom line to meet? Lilly repackaged Prozac in pink and lavender capsules, called it Sarafem, and diagnosed it for "Premenstrual Dysphoric Disorder," a supposedly more severe form of PMS.

Then who feel anxious or angry can now take comfort in knowing this new drug will make them normal again.

is 1'ere medication for a military-industrial complex? Lockheed Martin is the world's largest and other weapons to the Pentagon. Its ock value has tripled since Bush's election in 2000. Not surprisingly, Lockheed Martin's VP Bruce Jackson helped draft the Republican foreign policy platform that year, and plays a key role in Project for a New American Century. This is the think tank behind the invasion of Iraq, which has resulted in the deaths of over 2,000 Americans as well as tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians.



People's victories!

There's certainly no shortage of corporate swindling going on all over the world. Indeed, the very system supports it And yet, here are some reasons to be hopeful that another system can work.

Farmworker justice.

In 2005, following a three-year boycott, the Florida-based Coalition of Immokalee Workers won agreement from Taco Bell that it would pay a penny-per-pound surcharge on tomatoes to increase farmworkers' pay. The company also agreed to work for legislative reforms to strengthen farmworker rights.

Water Rights in Bolivia

In 2000, the citizens of Cochabamba learned that their public water system had been taken over by the private company Aguas Del Tunari,

owned by Bechtel. Water prices were driven so high that many of the area's mostly poor, indigenous population literally had to choose between food and water. After several public demonstrations violently repressed by the government, Bechtel was forced to leave the country and the water system was restored to the citizens. Bechtel then decided to sue the Bolivian people for \$50 million in profits lost. After even more international protest, the company has now formally abandoned the suit.

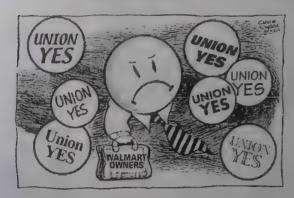
Land Movements in Brazil

In Brazil, the Landless Workers Movement has settled thousands of peasants onto unoccupied plantations. This nonviolent movement has also started farming cooperatives, established 1,800 schools and enrolled 15,000 students.

The MST and President Lula da Silva's government agreed to settle 400,000 families in the first three years of Lula's term. But, according to the MST, halfway through that period, fewer than 60,000 families have been settled and the land reform budget has been slashed. So this May, the MST mobilized 12,000 peasants for a 17-day, 150-inite protest march, ending in Brasilia, the nation's capital.

Cheap Oil for America's poor

While Exxon, Shell and other oil exces are reporting record profits, an estimated 40 million American households are in financial jeopardy because of rising heating costs Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez has offered discounted fuel to communities in New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Illinois through Venezuelanowned CITGO Corp. and several non-profits. Call it a political ploy if you like but you can't argue with the people who are happy to be receiving the cheap fuel.



Wal-mart workers fight back

Where labor rights are concerned, Wal-mart is known for shutting down stores when workers form a union, locking workers in the stores at night, cutting health benefits, and sexual harassment. But several workers' groups have formed to fight this. The Wal-mart Workers Association (WWA) and Wal-mart Association for Reform

Now (WARN), both based in Florida, file grievances on behalf of Wal-Mart workers. The organizations have also pressured Wal-Mart to return cut hours to their workers and change their scheduling policy.

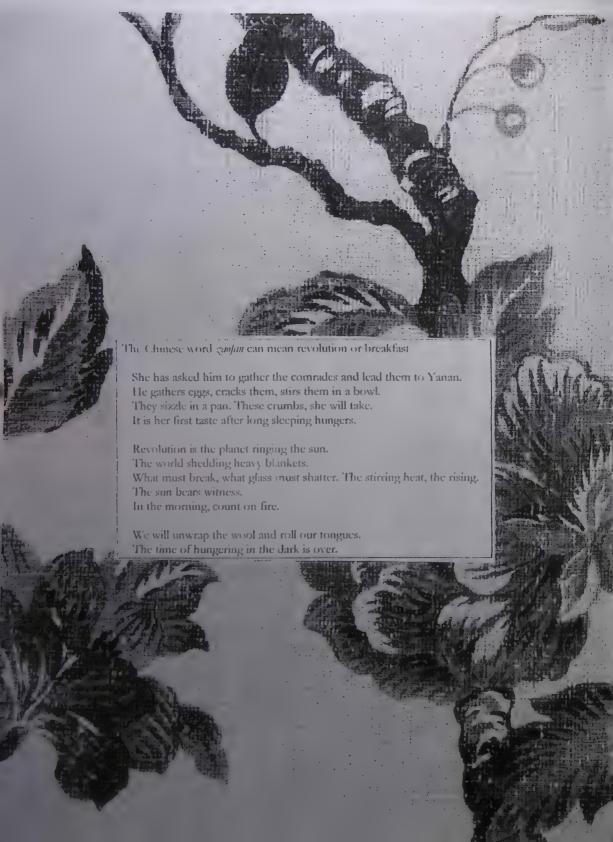
Living Wages

The minimum wage of \$5.15 an hour is at its lowest inflation-adjusted-level since 1955 (besides 1989). This wage makes it impossible to meet the cost of living. That's why ACORN, a grassroots action group, has developed a living-wage campaign. Because

of these community efforts, 130 cities now have living wage laws, where government contractors and some companies that receive government benefits are required to pay their workers a wage adjusted for the cost of living. The campaigners have also succeeded in getting thirteen states to adopt minimum wages higher than the federal level.



For a longer list, see "The People's Triumphs Over Corporate Power" by Robert Weissman: www.multinationalmonitor.org/mm2005/072005/weissman.html



Letter to Young Activists

by Bernardine Dohrn, from Monthly Review Zine, July 2005

In my lifetime, young people have changed the world. From Little Rock to Greensboro, from Selma to Soweto, in Tien an Mien and Seattle and Nepal, it was the young who dared to act in the face of the overwhelming certainty that nothing could be done. It was their direct action that educated, opened doors and minds, shattered the taken-for granted.

It will happen again. It's happening now.

For us, those of the mythical Sixties generation (now well into our sixties), evidence of spreading youth resistance to the U.S. Empire carries both hope and responsibility. And the evidence is clear: I have not met with such intense curiosity from the young about our experience since I came overground at the end of the seventies. If we were to take an anti-imperialist show on the road, we would sell out. And since this is 2005, I eagerly welcome the MR Webzine as the anti-imperialist roadshow of this time. What can I contribute? No war stories, neither self-denunciations nor justifications. Rather, bit by bit, hesitantly and not assertively, an assay of what can be learned from our experience that will be of use today.

Our shared experience today is of a planet, despite our dreams and labors, of rampant injustice and inequality yet worse than the world we once grabbed by the throat. The three great dangers that Dr. Martin Luther King warned of in his last year -- militarism, racism, and materialism (today we would say "consumerism") -- rage on unabashed. Empire is openly the goal; U.S. military outposts, weapons and wars multiply across the continents; old and new racial hierarchies are invented and promoted; and neo-liberal capitalism is imposed. The North is glutted with stuff and sporting perfect teeth but feeling poor, while the global South is fighting for survival, for life, for land and humanity. Here, in the belly of the beast, we are encouraged to beware, to wrap ourselves in homeland security and superficial

patriotism, and to see the world as us vs. them, civilization vs. barbarians, good vs. evil.

Amidst the dichotomy of new and old, we are the parents (yes, literally), aunts, godmothers, and conjurers of today's young activists. They are taking risks, and we who took risks once ourselves have an obligation to say more than wave a finger in warning.

I reject feeling nostalgic for the bittersweet struggles of the past.

It is clear that the Sixties, which was never really The Sixties, is being wielded as a bludgeon against today's young risktakers; a barrier, a legendary era which can never be equaled today. In fact, the Sixties was annually declared "dead" by the pundits of Time magazine and Newsweek beginning in 1963 and throughout the mid-seventies. During the subsequent three and a half decades, there has been a relentless campaign to promote four myths about those radical social upheavals. These legends about the so-called Sixties must be on the table to be scrutinized by today's young activists.

First, the '60s is enshrined as a heroic time of huge demonstrations, militancy and organizing. It was never all that.

Sixties activism was almost always small, isolated, surrounded by hostile, angry crowds. The groundbreaking actions of the students who joined the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the women who stood for an end to patriarchy, and the veterans, draft resisters and deserters who defied the military machine are legendary now because they were right about history and morality. Overwhelmingly, their courage was the quiet kind, the inventive sort, often unrecognized, not showy. Millions took a step away from the path well traveled, left the career track, lived on subsistence pay, learned to talk to strangers about politics, went to the point of production, invented communes, built schools, dug into communities, revived midwifery, seized and exposed the universities, were arrested, broke with family expectations and tradition. Black Panthers, GI organizers, environmentalists, Young Lords, gays and lesbians -- the anarchy, the imagination, the gravity, the invisibility to the media, especially the failures are familiar to today's young activists. So is the sense of isolation, the inadequacy to the task, the frustration with not being heard, the drowning in the American la la machine. The inability to stop the relentless escalation of war and occupation each and every day for a decade. The enormity of the hold of white supremacy on American life, North and South, inside and out. Divisions among ourselves, worst

At the height of 1968's upheaval, activists at Michigan State felt dismayed that they were not strong and powerful, like those in Ann Arbor. Militants in Ann Arbor measured themselves unfavorably against the struggle at Columbia in New York. And at Columbia or Cornell or Berkeley, organizers were unhappy that they were not meeting the high bar set by the May Day events in France, where workers and students brought the government to the brink. The challenge now, as then, is living as a radical organizer in your own time, your own place. The difficulty then and now is working away during what the great educator and founder of Highlander Myles I forton called Valley Times. It involves simultaneously acting and doubting.

Today's episodic massive organizing achievements can similarly be followed by eerie calm, business-as-usual, invisibility, the sense of never having been. Global solidarity and inventive militancy among AIDS activists, followed by . . . Labor rights and global justice shutting down the World Trade Organization in Seattle, but. . . . Brilliant unity and tactical zaniness at the '04 Republican National Convention building toward. . . . The devastating deflation of electoral defeats and setbacks to independent organizing. . . . GLBTQ direct action and exuberant breakthroughs followed by counter-reaction and withdrawals, momentarily washed up on the shore. . . . This was true also for all but a few seconds of the roughly fifteen years that constituted The Sixties. The consciousness of today is both ahead of and behind the peaks of the past. That was prelude. Now is where we stand.

Second, and paradoxically in counterpoint to romanticization, there has been a relentless thirty-year campaign to demonize and criminalize the Sixties. Militant resistance is portrayed as criminal, mass rebellion transformed into mob action, courageous choices derided as self-serving, moderately outrageous comments in the heat of the moment seized upon and repeated ad naseum as if they were the whole story or true. Fine leaders are degraded and their contributions dismissed due to personal limitations and all-too-real flaws. This is the organized, contemporary, and legal companion to the illegal, secret Counter-Intelligence Program ("COINTELPRO") of the FBI which used disinformation, harassment, and "dirty tricks" against the predominately white movement while using assassination, infiltration and imprisonment against people of color. This demonization of activists was the pretext for physical assassination and character assassination. It finds us still with scores of political prisoners unjustly incarcerated from that time. The Sixties was, in short, neither that good nor that bad.

Third, the struggle has been commodified, sold back to us as clothing, music, drugs, and film. It is trivialized, sucked of content, leaving only the husks of

oldies, tattoos and faded murals. What remains invisible is surviving for decades on \$20. week, living communally, doing what had to be done without funding from foundations or the approval of program grants, stepping off the career track, risking exile or courts martial, turning Left off the interstate. These were and still are choices made by both the privileged as well as the modest -- first-generation college students, working-class youth, and immigrants who comprised the movement.

Fourth is the lethal, deceptive telling of Sixties' history as if it were predictable and known, smoothing out the turmoil, the turbulence, the anarchy, and the ethical choices. The pat illusions that "we" all opposed the Vietnam War, "we" all were relieved that civil rights were granted to African Americans, and the "media" helped end the Vietnam war.

But history is seized, not given, change wrenched as a result of struggles from below. The women who challenged the mangling of our bodies -- the sisters did not know how it was going to turn out. The youth on the freedom rides, the inneh counters, the voter registration drives, urban insurrections, demonstrations against police brutality, struggles for Puerto Rican independence, Chicano liberation, Native American land, resources and dignity — no one knew how it would turn out. The young men who resisted the draft, who deserted the military, who fought in Vietnam and returned to join the anti-war movement and threw their medals back at the White House, the veterans who today warn and educate about the dread of real war -- they did not know how it would turn out. Dr. King himself was an angry, developing radical — a constant work in progress, not an airbrushed saint.

When we think about historical moments, of course, we each read ourselves into it in heroic ways. It's so obvious now. We all imagine that if we had lived during slavery, we would have been a catalyst for emancipation, we know what we would risk. Similarly, in our hearts we believe that had we been alive in Europe at the time of Nazi Germany, we would have been part of the Resistance, we would have hidden refugees, we would surely have stepped up to the historic challenge.

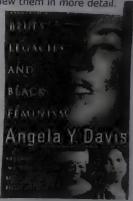
What are today's crises of human rights and how will we be remembered? For what we did and for what we failed to do? How do we narrate and act in this historical moment? Let me begin then with those home truths about the Sixties.

Book Highlights

There's a huge list of reading material on the next three pages, and if you want to see a list of all the books I've read in the past two years, go to www.galateaspants.com/book.htm But these three books especially made an impact on me and I want to review them in more detail.

Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Bessie Smith, Gertrude "Ma" Rainey and Billie Holiday by Angela Y. Davis

Angela Davis never fails to inspire me. She is so brilliant and radical and full of such passion for what she does. This is a musicology book about women's blues in the early twentieth century. Davis makes the case that these songs, though rarely explicitly "political," are framed by a consciousness of gender, race and class. She points out the defiance and catharsis inherent in the many testimonial blues songs about domestic abuse, as well as the celebratory tone of all the blues songs about sexual freedom and travel. Warning: This book will make you a voracious blues listener!!!!!



hell hooks

Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom by bell hooks

I love the way bell hooks writes because she has such a wonderful grasp on progressive theory but she presents it simply, free of confusion. It is very accessible, flows easily, and draws you in. Everyone should read her. Basically, hooks's whole premise is that education can and should be liberating, ecstatic, and even spiritually uplifting. When classes become stagnant or oppressive, something is wrong in the teaching ideology. She is very much against the "banking system" of education, in which students are just passive consumers of information. hooks also believes education should challenge the mind/body hierarchy. Professors should not appear to be disembodied floating "intellects" at the front of the classroom, separate from the class. At best, professors should be engaged in the learning process with their students. This book will inspire teachers to revolutionize their teaching style and it will inspire students to take control of their own education.

Century of The Wind by Eduardo Galeano

This is the third volume in Galeano's Memory of Fire Trilogy. It covers Latin America in the 20th century through a series of vignettes and historical accounts. If you want to familiarize yourself with the U.S.'s imperialist relationship with Latin America over the last one hundred years, this is the book to read. Galeano unfolds the stories of each country, each military coup and each socialist revolution in a captivating way, interweaving Latin folklore and even tales from Hollywood. Blurring the lines between journalism, fiction and poetry, Century of the Wind is well-researched, soulfully written, and reads like a magical realist novel.





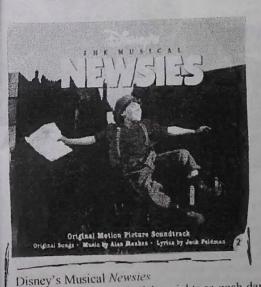
RESOURCE LIST

(Books, Films and Websites)

Labor

Nickel and Dimed by Barbara Ehrenreich Holding the Line by Barbara Kingsolver Bait and Switch by Barbara Ehrenreich Haymarket by Martin Duberman A People's History of the United States by Howard Zinn Bisbee '17 by Robert Houston The Willmar 8 dir. by Lee Grant Live Nude Girls Unite! dir. by Vicky Funari and Julia Query Norma Rae dir. by Martin Ritt Roger and Me dir. by Michael Moore





The Big One dir. by Michael Moore

Jobs With Justice (www.jwj.org) United Students Against Sweatshops (www.usasnet.org) Labour Start (www.labourstart.org) Educating for Justice (www.educatingforjustice.org) World Socialist Website (www.wsws.org)



Day labor repor

From *On the Corner Day Labor in the United States," the first comprehensive study of day laborers released in January ary by the Certiler for the Shirty of Litters Poverty al UCLA

117,600 day laborers are in the Unit-75 percent are in the United States

59 percent of workers are from Mexi-

28 percent are from Central America 49 percent reported not being paid to their work at least once in the last two

44 percent were denied lood, water or ■ 20 percent reported a workplace

injury, and half of those that not receive Median wage is \$10 an hour

Workers earn \$500 to \$1,400 a

49 percent of employers are home-43 percent of employers are contrac-

Top the occupations are construction worker, gardener, painter, roofer and

Corporate Power

Downsize This! by Michael Moore The Business of Consumption by Laura Westra World on Fire by Amy Chua

The first movie to make labor rights so gosh-darn cute!

Unequal Protection by Thom Hartmann

Wal-Mart: the High Cost of Low Price dir. by Robert Greenwald The Corporation dir. by Mark Achbar, Jennifer Abbott and Joel Bakan Enron: The Smartest Guys in the Room dir. by Alex Gibney

Erin Brockovich dir. by Steven Soderbergh Corporate Watch (www.corpwatch.org)

With Hraqi shill a shambles. U.S. officials are promoting a tough love vision of reconstruction that puts the burden on the Iraqi people. The world is a competitive place. Tom Delare, economics counselor at the U.S. Embassy, said this month during a news briefing. You have to convince the investor that it is worth his while to put his money in your community." (The LA Times. 1/15/08)

Yeah! Come on and convince me, you lazy-ass Iraqis! Convince me to put money in your community!



Don't hold your breath, dude. Iraqis have lived under a centralized state-controlled economy for decades. They don't understand that the world is a competitive place. They should fly the same flag as the Special Olympics.





Wouldn't it be quicker if we just literally beat tragis to death with Ayn Rand books?

www.mnftiu.cc

GET

Free Trade/Globalization

The Case Against Free Trade by Ralph Nader and Margaret Atwood, et. al.

No Logo by Naomi Klein

Globalize This! by Kevin Danaher and Roger Burbach

Fences and Windows by Naomi Klein

Public Power in the Age of Empire by Arundhati Roy

An Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire by Arundhati Roy

Speaking of Empire by Tariq Ali

Confessions of an Economic Hit-man by John Perkins

Life and Debt dir. by Stephanie Black

Sweatshop Watch (www.sweatshopwatch.org)

The Workers Rights Consortium (www.wrc.org)

Co-op America (www.sweatshops.org) Behind the Label (www.behindthelabel.org)







Media

The Exception to the Rulers by Amy and David Goodman OutFoxed dir. by Robert Greenwald

Orwell Rolls in his Grave dir. by Robert Kane Pappas Democracy Now! (www.democracynow.org)

Zmag (www.zmag.org)

Counterpunch (www.counterpunch.org)

Indymedia (www.indymedia.org)

Adbusters Magazine (www.adbusters.org)



Anti-War

Small Wonder by Barbara Kingsolver Said the Shotgun to the Head by Saul Williams

War Talk by Arundhati Roy

I Know I'm Not Alone dir. by Michael Franti Fahrenheit 911 dir. by Michael Moore

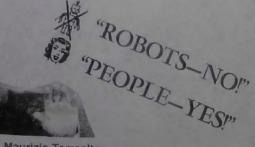
Fallujah: The Real Story dir. by Ali Fadhil

Fallujah: The Hidden Massacre dir. by Sigfrido Ranucci and Maurizio Torrealta

Get Your War On! (www.mnftiu.cc)

Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America (www.optruth.org) Baghdad Burning (riverbendblog.blogspot.com)

Code Pink (www.codepink4peace.org)







Tucson

High Tide in Tucson by Barbara Kingsolver Breathing Between the Lines by Demetria Martinez Confessions of a Berlitz Tape Chicana by Demetria Martinez Going Back to Bisbee by Richard Shelton Temporary Homelands by Alison Hawthorne Deming Writing the Sacred Into the Real by Alison Hawthorne Deming Sanctuary by Ann Crittenden Ocean Power by Ofelia Zepeda The Bean Trees by Barbara Kingsolver Getting Over the Color Green Ed. by Scott Slovic The MonkeyWrench Gang by Edward Abbey Coming Home to Eat by Gary Paul Nabhan Border Action Network (www.borderaction.org) Kore Press (www.korepress.org)



Culture/Counter-Culture/Situationism Portraits of Empire by Michael K. Smith Leaving the 20th Century by Christopher Gray Lipstick Traces by Greil Marcus Society of the Spectacle by Guy Debord Any books by RESearch Publications

"Why are American hospitals, schools, office buildings, prisons, and malls all essentially the same building?"

Ty Greenstein of folk band Girlyman

Here's a little game!!

Guess which of these is a school, a hospital, an office building, a prison or a mall.



HEER REAL PLANTS OF THE PARTY O

5.

For answers, go to www.galateaspants.com/answers.htm

"Our strategy should be not only to confront Empire, but to lay siege to it. To deprive it of oxygen. To shame it. To mock it. With our art; our music, our literature, our stubbornness, our joy, our brilliance, our sheer relentlessness - and our ability to tell our own stories. Stories that are different from the ones we're being brainwashed to believe.

The corporate revolution will collapse if we refuse to buy what they are selling; their ideas, their version of history, their wars, their weapons, their notion of inevitability.

Remember this: we be many and they be few. They need us more than we need them"

-Arundhati Roy

GALATEA'S PANTS

c/o Lauren Eggert-Crowe 1203 Mabel St Tucson AZ 85719